352 TAUNG thick. The door had two leaves to it and one mirror. However, this cupboard had fallen into disuse as a receptacle for clothes, the family preferring to keep their clothing in teak boxes. The other cupboard had no mirror and was used to store crockery in. It measured 2 TAUNG wide, three TAUNGS high and little less than one TAUNG thick.

There were also two huge boxes both of which had been received as a bequest from his father. They were very heavy and needed two people to lift each of them. Each measured one TAUNG and five fingers long, one TAUNG broad, and one TAUNG high. Each had four legs two inches high. They were identical and both were used for clothing.

There was also a round table with four legs about two feet tall and with a diameter of two feet. This U Myaing bought in Rangoon for Rs. 3/8.

[291] [562] [651] A special basket was kept for storing women's HTA-MEINS (outer feminine nether garments). The Burmese do not allow mixture of women's and men's clothing. They had one of these baskets with lid in Pathwa. It was bought in Pantanaw and cost them 12 annas.

353 415 The following bric-a-brac is reported:- a porcelain duck and a porcelain rooster which had been handed down for two or three generations and had been used as a receptacle for trinkets and other small articles; a glass elephant also about a hundred years old with drawers to contain trinkets.

The following items are containers which may be regarded as household furnishings: abetel box about a hundred years old with a diameter of about twelve inches; a clay water jug overlaid with porcelain, also a hundred years old; two huge vessels for HSOON, one costing Rs. 25/- and lasting twenty years, and the other costing Rs. 15/- and lasting 13 years.

[25] [196] These vessels were used when the family went to the KYAUNG to observe the sacred days. On such days HSOON for the whole family would be carried in these vessels. A KYAUK KAR food carrier woven of HNEE, (pith of the fibre used for mat weaving and overlaid with KYAUK KAR) cost Rs. 6/- and was used for about thirteen years. Five huge earthenware jars each 3½ feet in diameter and 3 feet high, and three small jars were used to store fish. Each of the large jars cost Rs. 30/- and the small ones cost Rs. 4/8.

[251]

if there are many fish, if the water is bad they may die off - and do not come down to the KHE. When the water is good we get many fish. When the water is bad it is called YE-HAN-DE (the water is hurt). When the water is bad they die off on their own and become putrid on this side; they do not come down. When the water is bad it stops the coming down of fish even more effectively than if a KIN barrier were put up (further upstream.) They do not come down to the mouth of the KHE. 226 221 132

"There are 80 or 100 fishermen working at the CHAUNG-GYI IN where I work. Thirty of these are from YWA-GYI-BAT and they are the only IN workers there, although there are 7 other INS in the neighbourhood. They work for 6 months out of the year. During the month of TAGU when the fish is sold, we start on the KIN and work through the months of NAYON, WAGAUNG, TAWTHALIN and in TAWTHALINwe place it in the IN. Water comes down and with it the fish, and we end upabout the month of PYATHO. In the hot season we catch the remaining fish and after the hot season the INS are again auctioned by the Government. 226

"Night and day the fish are coming down and they have to be gathered up in wicker baskets and poured into tubs. They are coming down all the time. We have no special work time; both night and day. That is why there have to be so many workers. We have watches. If this person watches this night, that person watches the next night and another person the next night. They have to stay till morning. The person who has watched up till morning is given a turn (to rest) and another person placed there for the next night. The fisherman works for a day and a night. Then shifts are changed. The man who works from the afternoon is given a rest in the morning. There are shifts of eight to nine men at a time. These nine men are changed after a day and a night. They rest for a day and a night. 226 461

"Some of the more common fish are:- Nga Thaing, Nga Gyin, Nga Gyaung, Nga Myit Chin, Nga Dan, Nga Myin Yin; small fish are plentiful, Nga Khamma, Nga Hpare Aung, Nga Bat, Nga Khu, Nga Gyi; you get a lot. During one shift, (one day and one night) 2000 fish may come down, 3000 fish may come, or there may be 500, or there may be only 100. You cannot say for sure. At the end of the SHAN the fish are scooped up with kerosene tins and poured into the boat with wicker baskets. After that they are taken home. We take both big and small fish. The big ones are caught by hand and kept alive in big tubs, and it is the small fish that are scooped up with kerosene tins. We take all the fish that are stranded at the sluice end. The tiny fish escape through the KIN. Some larger fish also escape if the KIN cracks are wide.

"The large fish are kept alive and sent to the Rangoon markets and to various towns. They usually stay alive this way. When the distance is great they are placed in ice and sent. The other fish are dried or made into fish paste or NGAPI. In making Ngapi, the heads are first cut off. The scales are removed by wrapping the fish in gunny-bags and stamping with the feet after the bag has been placed in a tub. After that they are washed and salt is put in. After mixing thoroughly with salt they are pressed into jars. Those who want to pound their fish into NGAPI DAING (pounded ngapi) leave their fish to become putrid and then pound them. Those who want to keep them raw (AHKEIN) do not. 226 438 263

Mr Aye Myaing describes the preparation of ngapi as follows:-

"The fish have to be chopped and placed in water; after the scales are removed, the fishes are chopped and placed in water for a night. In the morning the putrid fish are taken out, mixed with salt and laid out to dry. In the evening they are again mixed with salt and pounded. You pound the fish today, lay 251 263

it out to dry in the sun throughout the next day, then pound again and store in jars. The total process takes two days." 251 ● 263

U Myaing continues his explanation of the IN fishery:- 226 474 463

"The fishery is worked on a co-operative basis. We contribute equal sums of money. If one puts up Rs. 100/- all put up Rs.100/-; if Rs.1000/- all put up Rs.1000/- each. We group together and work. Rights to the site of the fishery must be secured from the government by auction. We have to make an initial payment of about Rs. 1000/- or Rs. 2000/- and in bidding among ourselves the price increases to eight thousand, nine thousand, ten thousand, twelve thousand. The original price was three thousand rupees. This is the cost of the Deputy Commissioner's auction. There were many bidders at the auction for the IN. Four, five, six. For example if I give a thousand rupees you offer two thousand, he gives three, four, five thousand ..... When it comes to the hand of the successful bidder the price has increased. The money for the fishery rights have to be paid in later (after the fishing has begun). For example if I pay in a thousand rupees this month, I pay a thousand the next month and the next, in several instalments. This is in addition to the amount we sink into the actual working of the business. (Cost of constructing the IN and equipment).

"The fishermen do not get paid a salary. They have shares. Accounts are kept of how much fish is caught, how much sold, and only after the IN has been worked to the end of the season is everything cleared up. Each fisherman gets only one share, and the profits are equally divided. We have to pay equal amounts of money for the IN and the money we get from the IN is the same for each of us. We all group and work together. There are some INS where one takes the lead and engages all the men and works it for himself. What he gets he keeps for himself. He pays the wages. In selling, we discuss the matter among ourselves and then sell. The four or five elders get together and if they decide to sell this kind of fish for this price, it is sold.

"As one of the elders, I go alone and bid at the auctioning in the Deputy Commissioner's office. I also supervise the actual fishing saying to the other fishermen - "Do this, and this and this." I have a list of what things they need and have to go and buy these things for them. I have to buy poles, I have to buy IN bamboo, I have to buy all the implements which are to be used. I have to collect money, and buy all the implements used in the IN. I have to keep accounts for this. I get a bit more money (than the other fishermen) by making goods (from the profits of manufacture). You see, I also make dried Nga-gyi fish and Ngapi-daung. I buy the fish from them and process it. I have not worked at INS all my life. I worked for about ten years at the time when the British king reigned. When the Japanese came I worked at INS no longer."(He then bought fish and sold the preparations.) [656] 226 463 621

U Myaing gives the following supplementary information:

" There are ten leaders or foremen in the village, each of them taking charge of about seven or eight men. In all there are about eighty workers in the three sub-villages of Pathe working with me at our IN. About thirty or forty of these live in INS-GYI-BET on our side of the river. These are men working at our IN only. There are also workers living in the village who work in the six other INS of the neighbourhood. About a hundred of the two hundred families in INS-GYI-BET work INS. The rest process the fish, dry it, make ngapi etc., and to do this they have to buy the fish from the IN workers. Afterwards they sell to buyers who come from Upper Burma. Or sometimes they go upcountry in boats and steamers to sell the produce. Some people who are not IN workers go to the INS and help to extract fish oil. Fish like Nga-Nparo-daung yeild about one viss of oil to every 10 viss of fish. The fish are cut open with a knife and the fat collected. The women come and help without payment and take home oil for themselves when they go back. The women of my household also used to do this. [438] [562]

Cooking and Eating Utensils

Ma Aye Myaing does her work directly in front of the fireplace in a squating position, often resting on the tiny bamboo stool. A few sticks of firewood, or brush, are placed within the three sided enclosure made of three single bricks on edge. A hollow bamboo tube about 10 inches long and 1½ inches in diameter is periodically used to blow the fire to a hot flame in lieu of a draft. The identifications of the cooking and eating utensils given below were provided by Daw Aw Zar and U Myaing in an interview in which photographs of the objects were used.

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252
[516]
[352]
[372]

HTA MIN O (cooking pot): This is an earthenware jar used for cooking vegetables and other foods. It is a round based globular form with outflaring rim. A wide conical shaped lid with flat disc knob for raising goes over the orifice. It is smooth, light tan in colour throughout and about ¼ inch in thickness. It is tempered with sand. A stamped design encircles the widest diameter on the body. This diameter is about 7 inches, height is 4½ inches. One or two are kept on hand (Pathwe: several. Camp: one). They cost 5 annas each. This sand tempered, stamped, earthenware appears in the early European contact period (late 1500's) at Syriam (Orr, K.G. "Stratigraphy in Lower Burma" Ms. in preparation.) It is rapidly being discarded in favour of aluminum pots which are not nearly as cheap but do not break Traditionally this pot is used to cook rice. In speaking of its use Daw Aw Zar said: "We keep one or two, to boil vegetables and do other things to eat, seeing that there are seven people we have to cook (i.e. rice) with a big aluminum pot."

[172]
[178]

HIN O (curry pot): This jar is generally of the same shape as the one described above but is wider at the orifice (8 inches diameter) though about the same height. It is of the same ware type; has a wavy-line stamped design just under the rim. Ordinarilly equipped with a conical lid, this vessel had a flat aluminum lid. This vessel is used to cook curry. It was brought from Pathwe, where it was bought at a cost of 6 annas. Number used in Pathwe: several, camp: 1.

[435]

LAPHET YE-OH (tea pot): The tea pot is also of tan earthenware and generally of the same ware as the cooking pots, with the exception that the surface was carefully scraped and slightly burnished. The body is globular, with thumb-like spout, and semi-circular clay handle. This pot was brought from Pantanaw, where it had cost 8 annas.

[323]

SIN O (food storage jar): Whereas the cooking vessels are moulded by hand with the aid of a peddle, and lack glazing, the storage jars are glazed and have been made on the wheel. These glazed jars also have flat disc bases, and pear-shaped bodies with contracted necks and short, collar-like rims. In every way they appear to be a separate tradition from the cooking ware. The glaze is dark reddish-brown over a hard-baked purple-red core. The interior is thoroughly glazed but the glaze only covers the upper half of the exterior. The reddish-brown glaze is recent, appearing in ceramic collections of the last century in Rangoon (Orr, K.G. "Stratigraphy in Lower Burma", the Monkina Street section) being preceeded by a yellow-black glaze in the early European period at Syriam.

[172]

Salt saffron, oils, etc are stored in these jars. The one examined was about 4 inches in height and 5 inches in diameter. It came from Pathwe and cost 3 annas. Number in Pathwe several, camp: 1.

[251]
[435]

basket PYIDAUNG. Both cost a rupee. One does not seem to be preferred to the other except as getting them allows a bargain to be made. The form is that of a pear shaped body with a square base, measuring about 8 by 8 inches. The basket is constructed in the wicker technique with small, whole reeds. Pathwe: 2. Camp: 1. 415 252 [285]

CHIN DAING (storage basket): The form of this basket is a larger version of the measurers. It has, however, an open weave giving a checkered effect to the sides and bottom. It is used to store objects including food. At Pathwe this basket was used in working the IKS. The fish were scooped up, and later washed in them. The two used in camp were brought from Pathwe where they cost Rs. 1/4- Camp: 1, Pathwe: 15 for washing fish. 251● 415 [435]

Winnowing trays: Shallow baskets about 2½ feet in diameter and 2 inches high were used as shifting and storage trays. The SAGAN has a rounded base; while the SAGAR has a flat base with fiber walls. Both are made of flat, wide-meshed reeds. The trays used in camp came from Pathwe where they cost Rs. 1/4 each. Pathwe: 1. 243 415

YWE CHIN (Marketing basket): This basket is in the general shape of a cylinder, 1½ feet wide and 8 inches high, with open, flat reed sides and a semi-circular handle across the top. It is used to carry objects from market and to store them in the house. Pathwe: 2, Camp: 1. 415

U Myaing expresses the contrast between the camp equipment and that of Pathwe: "These objects in camp are barely sufficient. We have to live as we are. In our own district we had sufficient to spoil in boxes. The extra ones were nailed in boxes and only enough were taken out for the seven people who eat. When visitors come, good ones are brought out. Plates for curry, plates for eating rice. There were various kinds." 415 511 178

Food Items

Ma Aye Myaing gave as complete a set of data on the food consumption of her family as she could. The following data is inclusive for the family of seven, both in Pantanaw and the refugee camp. Ma Aye Myaing decides what dishes to cook for each meal of the day, and she does this without any consultation with U Myaing. She does not ask him what he would like for each meal, although sometimes when he expresses a desire for a certain dish she sees to it that it is prepared. She has a free hand in deciding what to cook for each meal in the day. Definitions of the weights and measures used follow in a glossary. The data is organized under the headings of (1) Main dishes and raw foods, (2) supplementary dishes and TO-ZAYI (vegetables eaten with RICE), and (3) trifles. 262 [593] [128]

during the months of Waso and Wagaung. Mangoes can be preserved in the form of pickle or of salted mangoes. In Rangoon, ripe mangoes can be obtained all year round since some are laid by in cold storage, but they are very expensive out of season and cost about three rupees each. 262 [369] [251]

MAYAN THEE AHME (ripe marians) appear during the months of Tabaung, Tagu, Kason and Nayon. In Nayon month the output of marian fruit lessens.

Consumption of NGAPI YE: NGAPI YE is available all the year round. In Pantanaw it was eaten every day for both meals of the day. Ten ticals of NGAPI YE lasted the family four meals. In camp it is consumed only occasionally - about four days in the month. Two and one half ticals are taken with each meal and this would add up to twenty ticals for the eight meals in the month.

Consumption of firewood: If all the firewood needed by the family in camp had to be bought, the consumption of firewood per month in the camp would amount to 200 pieces of Kanazoe wood at the rate of Rs. 4/- per 100 pieces. About 3 months ago they found that they did not need to buy any firewood at all as they could gather a sufficient amount of brushwood to serve in its place; but now none of the members of the family remain free to go in search of brushwood and all their requirements have to be bought. 313

In Pantanaw, their needs of firewood for cooking were filled by three huge Koko trees which they owned. This was also supplemented by the wood that they had to buy for processing the fish. Three tons of firewood would last 1½ or 2 months, costing Rs. 25/- per ton. The firewood for cooking did not cost anything beyond the two or three rupees that had to be paid to the person who cut down the branches.

Consumption of PAUK PAUK PYIN: This is not found in Rangoon at all. In Pantanaw it was eaten at charities, particularly the Waso month charity. Each member of the family ate about 10 ticals each, and 40 or 50 ticals were needed for all. This was eaten only once a year and even then not necessarily every year. 262 [796]

KAYK KAYAR is eaten in camp only about once a year. This is the Rangoon equivalent of PAUK PAUK PYIN. KAYK KAYAR is different in having no oil in it. One anna's worth weighs five ticals and six or seven people eat an anna's worth each at one eating.

In Pantanaw bread was sometimes eaten at SHIN PYUS (novitiation ceremonies). MON-HIN-GA was eaten at the beginning of the Buddhist Lent, when PAUK PAUK PHIN, MON KYAR YOK and MON SHIN BAUNG were also eaten sometimes. KAUK HNYIN BAUNG was eaten at this time and also at U Myaing's daughter's naming ceremony. GYIN THOKE, LAPHET and tea were served during novitiation ceremonies, and Mandalay HTO MOW was eaten during the naming ceremony. Sweet tea was also served during marriage ceremonies. Rice and curries were eaten at some of the bigger festivals. KAUK HNYIN was prepared for almost every ceremony or festival. [796]

In Rangoon, U Myaing had MON HIN GA and sweet tea on the full moon of Tasaungmon from a charity in the THAYET-TAN KYAUNG-TAIK. He also had some MON-HIN-GA not long ago at a head washing ceremony for a child. There are no charities held in the camp enclosure. [796]

25: Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 APl Burma
Burmese AP4

243

Under the coarse yellow husk is a shell of bran, and beneath that a delicate white pellicle. The two outer coverings have to be removed and the inner one preserved. "Cargo rice," which forms the bulk of the mill produce, is three parts rice, simply husked, and one part paddy. The mixture bears the transport.

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B51
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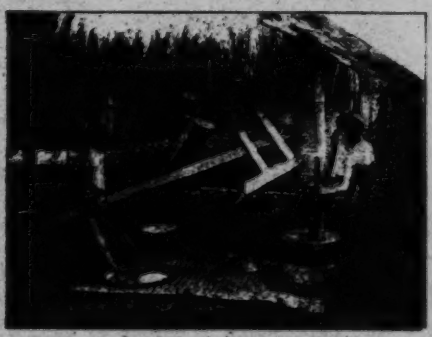
118. TREADING OUT THE GRAIN.

better than white rice. Burmans clean the rice according to daily need. This is done either by simple pounding or by first husking the grain in a wooden mill (*kyaissôn*), and then pounding it to get off the bran. The mortar is of hard wood, with a hard wood pounder as heavy as the arm can wield; or else the pounder is mounted in a tilting-beam for foot-power. Chaff and bran are separately winnowed out with sieves and trays (*sagâw*) of bamboo, and in exposed places by the help of the wind also. For wholesale husking, the native mill is composed of two strong wicker-work cylinders made solid with clay, in which are embedded upright staves of hard wood (Nos. 127, 184). As the mill wears down, the layers of wood keep above the clay like the layers of enamel in a herbivore's tooth, maintaining a rough surface for work. In the early days of the export trade, rice was husked for shipping in this way. The separation of the chaff is done with a machine copied from our farmyard winnower, and now manufactured in every town.



119. CLEANING RICE WITH THE HAND-POUNDER.

25: Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 APl Burma
Burmese AP4

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120. CLEANING RICE WITH THE HAND-MILL.

in every town. A basket (*din*, bushel) of cleaned rice (*san*) costs three to four rupees, and lasts a man about a month. The loss of volume in cleaning is about twenty-five per cent., and the cost of the unhusked grain about one-third of that of rice. For cakes and sweets, rice is ground with water in the Indian stone hand-mill. After first soaking, it is passed through the mill repeatedly until it forms a creamy fluid, which is strained and used while fresh. Wheaten bread is a novelty.

[262]

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The houses in Burma are mostly built of bamboo. The giant bamboo (*wabó*), a denizen of the evergreen hills, is cultivated in the plains for house-posts and masts and side-buoys of boats. Its culms attain a height of eighty feet and a girth at the butt of two feet. Every bamboo jungle supplies the rest of the material for the house. No tools are needed for bamboo work, but the universal *dâ*—a sabre, trimmer, chopper, according to its proportions (No. 231). With the *dâ* the bamboos are hewn, split open and slit into withes (*hnî*) for lashing. Thin-walled bamboos are opened out into broad planks for the walls of the houses (*tayán*). Stout thick-walled bamboos are shaped into narrow planks for flooring, or the floor is laid of round bamboos laced down at intervals. Loose planks of wood are becoming general for floors, even in houses built of bamboo (p. 119). Every Burman can handle the *dâ*, but not so expertly as the hill people. The house-posts, floor-girders, and principal frames are frequently of timber, and outlast several relays of the bamboo-work, which decays in a few seasons. The inducement to keep a material clean and neat which has soon to be replaced is not great, and engenders negligent habits. In the better houses, bamboo is only used for the walling and the roof rafters.

[313]

[412]

[243]

121. WINNOWING GRAIN IN THE WIND.

25: Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 APl Burma
Burmese AP4

226 draining off. When the weather is clear enough for the work of curing, the residue of water is run out and the fish are taken. Where the channels do not drain the *in* of its water, the fish are taken by men who advance close abreast up the length of the lagoon with conical cages which they thrust to the bottom

195. CAGING FISH IN COMPANY.

at every step, taking out the fish they catch by an opening at the top (*saung-tô*). But the water in some lagoons remains too deep for this plan, and then *tugaung* are made. These are enclosures along the margins of the lagoons into which the fish are enticed by the shelter of green boughs laid on the surface of the water. Small fish are caught with the casting-net (*kun*). Heavy nets for river and sea fishing are made of *paissan* twine, a kind of jute, tanned with cutch or *madamá* bark. Light nets are made of cotton twine. Drop-nets with floats of bamboo or *pa[illegible]* are used in the big rivers, the estuaries, and on the coast. This class of fishing is getting into the hands of settlers from India. Enormous quantities of small fry are taken in the estuaries in large funnel-shaped traps called *damlu*, which are anchored in the tidal currents. [227] The shark tribe (*ngasuán*) are common on the coast. The fish most prized in Burma is *ngathalduk* (*hilsa*), but there are many kinds of excellent fish. [251] Large fish are slit, salted and sun-dried. The eggs of the turtle are collected on the laying-

196. FISH WEIR AND TRAP.

25; Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 APl Burma
Burmese AP4

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[262]
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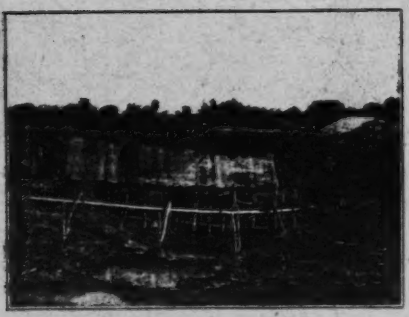

198. SLUICE OF LAGOON FISHERY (IN)

banks. Ducks' and fowls' eggs are also eaten.

Small fry and the bony fish are made into the Peguan condiment *ngapi*—pressed fish. The process is essentially the same as that of anchovy paste manufacture, but is conducted in a much rougher way. The fish after being taken are spread out in the sun and then pounded in a mortar, again sunned and again pounded with about a quarter their weight of salt. Fermentation is not uniformly arrested at the proper stage, so that the product becomes contaminated with putrescence. According as the compound remains moist or dry it is made into balls, moulded into bricks, or stored in jars. *Ngapi* is sent to Burma Proper and the Shan States in enormous quantities. Fresh fish, dried fish, and *ngapi* are much the same in price, one half to one rupee the viss (3.65 lbs.) according to quality. *Ngachin* is a crude and unwholesome pickle made by putting fish to ferment with boiled and salted rice.

258 Salt used to be obtained from sea-water and from brine wells in the interior, before the import of salt began. The manufacture still drags on, as the local salt is better for curing purposes. At spring-tides, sea-water in the estuaries is let into shallow pans like rice-fields, or it is raised with the *Ka-hnaé*. After the brine has been concentrated by evaporation in the heat of the sun, it is boiled down in spherical earthen pots, which are built with clay into a vault over a furnace. Iron cauldrons like those in No. 186 are superseding the earthen pots, and the round cauldron is in its turn being replaced by a flat iron pan.

[178]
[415]
[227]

224 The chase, so far from forming the diversion of princes and satraps, remains to the *vauriens* of the villages

199. SHORE NET

25: Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 APl Burma
Burmese AP4

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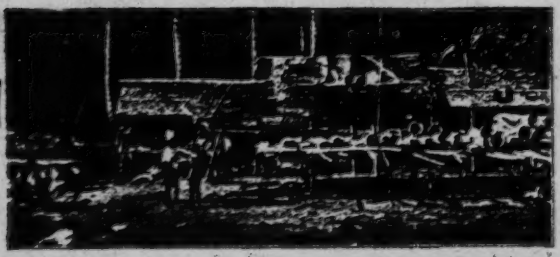
[347]



206 SEA-FISHERMEN'S HUTS

to eke their living by. The typical reprobate who is reclaimed in Buddhist legend is the hunter (*mágá*). The religious stigma would probably be less severe if the scope of the chase were not so restricted as it is. In the forests of Burma, with their dense cover, forage for herbivores is scarce at certain seasons, so that game cannot multiply extensively. Such game as there is has a wide beat, and is hard to find owing to the vast preponderance of forest land over clearing. For the same reason the game that forages in the cultivation or on its borders has a limited field in Burma. In the plains near the sea there is a closer approach to the conditions of *shikár* in India, and the chase becomes more of a recognised occupation. There are four species of deer: the *sat* (*sámbar* of India), the *daye* (porcine deer), *dyi* (barking deer, roe), and a beautiful species peculiar to the Eastern Peninsula, the *thamlu* (brow-antlered deer), which has the form and stature of our red deer. *Thamlu* are found in the plains on the coast of Pegu, and again in the north-west of Burma Proper. On dark nights these deer are hunted with the *ut-ou*. A lantern is prepared, with three sides dark. The flare is directed towards the deer, which are so dazed by it that they may be approached up to striking distance. The herd is deceived at the same time by the tinkling of cow-bells. Smaller deer, *daye* and *dyi*, are caught with nets in the plains of the coast. Hunters watch at their haunts for them to break cover and come out into the cane-fields or other cultivation. A stout net, a couple of yards wide, stiffened at intervals with bamboo uprights, is run across the line of retreat, opposite to

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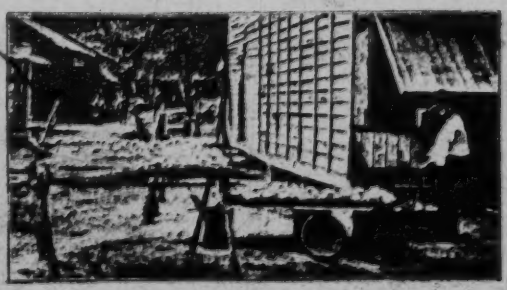

201 POUNDING NGAPI